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ABSTRACT

Socialization is a part of teacher education, and discussion of the phenomena involves the ethical consequences of teacher education programs on the system of thoughts and actions of the students. The institutional structures and the individuals interact. As student teachers participate in the daily activities and events of preparation, they construct meanings about the tasks and responsibilities of teaching. The social distribution of professional knowledge is shown as having three dimensions: the inferential structures students develop as they participate in teacher education: the ways in which sacred knowledge is maintained, legitimated, or rejected; and the sentiments embedded in the work activities student teachers are called upon to do. These three dimensions are considered in relationship to the possible ethical consequences of certain actions educators take in teacher education. Three further methodological considerations are discussed: the functional vocabulary and specific actions of students; the functioning vocabulary students needed as they proceed through their teacher preparation program; and a vocabulary of motive, which may or may not vary from the ideal types. Variations in perspectives should be expected and identified. (JMF)

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TEACHER EDUCATION AS A PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION:

THE SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF KNOWLEDGE

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TEACHER EDUCATION AS A PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION:
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I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to provide a perspective for understanding the phenomena of teacher education. The essay grows out of a dissatisfaction with current beliefs about the form and content of teacher preparation. At a symbolic level, there seems to be a great ferment in teacher education: journals are published, federal agencies created and books written about the crisis in teacher education. The activity though, produces a series of contrasts and contradictions. We propose more intensive practical experiences while at the same time lamenting the fact that these very schools fail large segments of our children. People talk about seemingly heroic acts of precision-teaching and competency-based education while not coming to grips with the fact that many of these activities tend to keep things the way they are. A uniquely modern notion of humanism arises in education to deal with the impersonalization and alienation of an industrial culture. Yet while wanting to make emotional dimensions an integral part of education, humanism becomes anti-intellectual. The social, political and ethical responsibilities of teacher education are hidden by technical definitions of educational problems and procedural responses to reform (for discussion of this, see Popkewitz, 1975).

The notion of socialization orients this discussion in exploring the assumptions and consequences of the ways in which we prepare teachers. It is clear to this writer that people construct webs of meaning during teacher education which allow them to take part as a "teacher" in the ordinary events and encounters of schooling. The newly initiated teachers in Portland, OR and Columbus, GA do talk and act in a manner similar to those in school.

Implicit in their actions are habits of thinking and legitimations which justify and make reasonalbe the tasks of teaching. The problem of understanding teacher socialization is to illuminate the ethical consequences of teacher education programs on the systems of thoughts and actions students develop.*

II. SOCIALIZATION AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

The notion of socialization has a long and productive his ry in the study of education. In 1932, Waller wrote about the social influences and occupational characteristics surrounding teaching. Among other interests, Waller gave attention to teaching as a form of institutional leadership which involved patterns of dominance and subordination. He discussed how school authority was socially formalized and the social traits of people who worked as teachers. His analysis of factors influencing classroom interaction are still of interest to students of education. More recently, Dan Lortie (1975) considered social factors which give teaching a peculiar form and content. His research gives attention to certain structural and psychological qualities which influence the type of commitment people have towards teaching.

Typically, socialization research has focused upon how people learn to accept or are processed into an occupation. Brim and Wheeler (1966), for example, define socialization as "the process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions that make them more or less able members of a society" (p. 1). The function of socialization, the continue, "is to

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*Because of a lack of an unencumbered noun to refer to a teaching student, I will use the word student when referring to someone in the process of becoming a teacher. To avoid confusion, pupil will be used as a synonym for children in school.

transform the human raw material of society into good working members." Socialization research, in turn, concerns how people come to accept their assigned roles in society: (1) how an individual acquires understandings of the recognized statuses in society; that is, learns the names so as to locate oneself and others in the social structures; and (2) how individuals learn role prescriptions and role behavior and its consistent attitudes and emotions (Wheeler and Brim, pp. 1-5, also see Edgar and Warren, 1969, and Parsons, 1959). Much of the political socialization research popular during the 1960's maintained similar orientations. Its basic question was how the young came to accept the norms and legitimacy symbols of the existing political system.

We reject this view of socialization for two fundamental reasons. First, the notion of socialization tends to be oversocialized. Individuals are defined as being overpowered by forces outside of them. Individual responsibility, from this perspective, is to acquiesce and conform to existing social arrangements. Occupational research such as in teacher education becomes a search for factors that produce consensus or dissonance to the prevailing social structures. Lortie's (1975) discussion of teacher socialization, for example, focuses upon the work structures which permit or limit people's affiliation to the profession of teaching. Horowitz (1968) studies the different expectations students have about teaching from those held by their classroom teachers. The researcher is concerned that dissimilarities and inaccuracies in the perception of the role of teacher will adversely affect the acculturation process of students into teaching. A tacit orientation of such research is to develop more powerful positive socializing mechanisms.

Never seriously questioned is whether the arrangements of teacher education or teaching are themselves warranted. Researchers seem to take rather than

make educators categories and administrative organization as the assumptions of their research (see M. Young, 1971, for discussion of this). Further, while social structures are compelling in the construction of identity, the concept of socialization should define people as both recipients and creators of values. Research should concern how institutional arrangements foster and restrict people from acting imaginatively and creatively in determining the scope and possibilities of their social conditions.

Second, the notion of role is inadequately conceived. There is a tendency in research to treat roles as "things" which people accept unconditionally upon entering an institutional office. The role of teacher, pupil or soldier is viewed as a permanent, fixed object into which people are socialized. Grambs (1975), for example, is concerned with role as "the ways in which teaching determines how he will feel and act within the institutional framework of the public schools" (p. 73). The investigation focuses upon the role relationship "inherent in the situation," such as teacher as judge of achievement, person who controls knowledge and keeper of discipline. It is assumed that the label of "teacher" carries predetermined work attitudes, status, behaviors and norms which a student passively incorporates.

An undimensional view of "role" provides a distorted conception of what occurs when people enter institutional settings (See Cicourel, 1970). On one hand we can talk about teaching as having general characteristics and we can identify "teachers" upon walking into a school setting. However, these general characteristics give us only a partial story to the meaning of being a teacher. The actual definition of a role is determined by the beliefs, norms and actions of people interacting within the work settings of teaching.

Educators cannot take-for-granted the characteristics of "roles." Cusick (1973) provides a different understanding to the role of teacher by examining social interaction in a high school. He suggests that the face-to-face contacts teachers had with students tended to denude teachers of instructional authority which traditional perspectives define as "inherent in the situation" of schools. Haller (1967) found a smiliar negotiation and reciprocity between children and teachers in determining classroom social lingusitic pattern. Teachers moved in the direction of childlike expression rather than children accepting adult speech patterns. The meaning of "being a teacher" has existential qualities which involve people negotiating their status and responsibilities in specific social contexts.

An analysis of teacher socialization involves understanding the interplay of institutional structures and individuals (for a general discussion see Berger and Luchmann, 1967. An Attempt to cross-culturally apply their perspective, see Lynch and Plunkelt, 1973.) Before people enter into teaching situations, there already exist patterns of behavior, objects and social relationships. These patterns contain a knowledge about teaching which serves to guide personal activities and interpretations within the contexts of schools. The definitions individuals give to occupational activities, though, are only partially predefined by the situation. As students participate in the daily activities and events of preparation, they construct meanings about the tasks and responsibilities of teaching. Students actively appropriate conceptions of curriculum, ways of organizing instruction, expectations about the status relationships of teaching and notions of professional competence. The active relationship between people and institutions becomes evident as people chose to become committed, detached or revolt from the constraints existing within teacher education.

The importance of the institutional context of teacher education lies in the knowledge students derive from their participation. Involvement in these regularized patterns of conduct produce not only an understanding of what is known (the explicit content of teacher education) but commitments or dispositions to of how people should act. Embedded in the work and milieux of teacher education are certain rules of action, lines of reasoning and configurations of desired courses of action. For example, students preparing for teaching my learn a vocabulary which directs attention to the work of school as "learning," children's interest as "motivation," or the measure of achievement as a correct stroke of a pencil on a multiple item test. Using these school words also entails orientations and emotional commitments about what ought to be done in school. "Learning" is originally a metaphor of educational psychology. As will be discussed later, the metaphors contain assumptions and sentiments about how people in school should be understood. Using these metaphors, people accept certain definitions of educational problems, strategies for their solution and constraints on their actions. The institutional structures in which teacher education takes place, therefore, must be viewed as providing a normative as well as cognitive background of knowledge by which students can give plausibility and reasonability to the activities of school.

The background knowledge a student confronts in teacher education involves at least three elements: (1) an inferential structures to orient and direct the actions of teachers; (2) forms of educational knowledge considered as superior in dignity to other "non-educational" experiences of children; and (3) work activities from which satisfaction is to be derived. The socialization of teaching students entails learning how to deal with these dimensions as individuals create coherent systems of belief about teaching.

III. INFERENTIAL SYSTEMS OF KNOWLEDGE

In some ways, the functioning of a teacher education program is analogous to scientific paradigms discussed by Thomas Kuhn (1970). Scientific communities contain general paradigms which provide inferential structures for people participating in the field. Students entering into physics, chemistry or teaching are confronted with prior knowledge of that discipline, projected problems of the field, criteria of truth and validity, and assumptions about how the elements of the universe should interact with each other. Through social interactions and programmatic activities, students confront the background knowledge of the field and construct a professional identity. The tacit nature of an inferential structure makes that knowledge psychologically compelling and thus resistant to challenges. The Ptolemaic world view was maintained for many centuries as people believed (and act as if) that was what the universe was like. Transformation in the fundamental knowledge of a discipline occurs over time and with tension and conflict.

The inferential structure of education has somewhat of a different set of conditions than found in scientific communities. Education contains multiple paradigms. Different and possibly conflicting assumptions may be found in the subject matter of teaching, educational methods course or in the field experiences of student teaching. Further, there is a disagreement within any one field of study. For example, there is a serious debate in curriculum about the nature and character of its endeavor. Humanists and Marxists are challenging the assumptions and procedures of people who define curriculum from management approaches. The development of a teaching perspective involves students integrating different patterns of ideation into a coherent system of meaning and interpretation.

The inferential structures embedded in teacher education contexts are articulated through vocabularies of motive. C. Wright Mills (1967) suggests institutional contexts contain a dominant vocabulary which forms an interpretative scheme. That is, from the interactions of people involved in teacher education emerge a functional vocabulary by which intentionality is attributed to actions. Words are assigned as justifications for conduct (ability or disadvantaged are reasons children succeed or fail in school). Names are given to people and events (She is a third grader; they have learning disabilities; this is a remedial reading room).

The names learned in the discourse of teaching has consequences for social action. Words contain epistemologies and assumptions about the nature of reality which underlies the actions taken. The languages of teaching articulates ways in which people have sought to define problems of schools, to offer solutions to those problems and to suggest certain visions of what schools, ideas and children are like. Language serves to curtail the range of alternatives open to people who practice that occupation. The extent to which a teaching language is internalized to express intent is evidence of socialization.

Students coming into teaching have to deal with at least two different vocabularies of motive in educational discourse (see Esland, in Young, 1971). The dominant language can be called "positivism." The other is "dialectical." Each language maintains different epistemologies and assumptions in the construction of an occupational identity. The following discussion will highlight certain characteristics of these vocabularies and their implications

to a teaching perspectives. We cannot assume to know at this point, however, what empirical configurations of knowledge actually emerge from the settings in which students learn about teaching.

The dominant educational vocabulary emerges from a philosophical position of positivism, having offshoots in scientific behaviorism, management and bureaucracy. Within this tradition, knowledge is thought of as inert things or objects which exist outside the minds of individuals. The "structure" of disciplines curriculum movement of the 1960's, for example, typically defined social inquiry as sets of generalizations and particular classification of problems, data and verification procedures which are separate from the social process in which they occur. The educational testing industry, as well, is itself built upon a dehumanized notion of knowledge.

A pedagogy within this tradition is concerned with a limited range of solutions to questions and a preoccupation with right answers. The behavioral objective phenomena, for example, is a natural response to a conception of knowledge as predetermined objects. Many current schools attempt to individualize and construct learning centers make the knowledge-as-things more platable - the objects of knowledge are transcribed onto cards or dittos, ordered into a hierarchy and placed into a box so children can receive that knowledge at their own pace. (The rhetoric is "children learn at their own rate" and "educators are meeting individual needs.") The focus of instruction is how children can absorb and therefore replicate the knowledge chosen by experts. Success is measured by object i.e., criteria which compares "intelligence," a given and latent quality in children, to the acquisition of certain knowledge objects. The Chicago school teachers Becker (1952)

interviewed, for example, maintain a reified notion of child and knowledge. Teachers rejected lower class children because they do not meet the moral ideal type teachers established nor learn the knowledge objectives teachers wanted to impose. The dichotomizing of child and knowledge dehumanizes the intersubjective processes by which individuals construct knowledge.

The positivistic tradition carries over into teacher education a distinctive cognitive style or habit of thinking. The tasks of preparing teachers is similar to that of training children. One needs to identify the objects of knowledge, create precise and rational systems to convey that knowledge and design objective tests to monitor and control progress. Systems of categories are created through system analysis and PERT charts which everything in the jurisdiction of teacher education can fit. Languages which reflect ambiguities and uncertainties are replaced by a technical language. People are "resources," communities which schools exist are "sites," things people do are "inputs" and "outputs" and classes people take are "modules." Efficiency is sought through "competencies" which predefines certain actions as critical to the tasks of teaching. Once students repeat these actions (teach three lessons to a whole class, develop an assessment test) they can move on to the next step until they complete the hierarchy of tasks. The combined use of management systems and competencies insures a predictability, anonomity and equality of treatment in teacher education. It also makes means as important as ends. To the extent, student teachers accept and use positivistic languages and its rituals to orient and direct teacher behavior, socialization has occurred which limits the range of choices and actions deemed appropriate in teaching.

Much of my observations and discussions with interns involved in current Teacher Corps projects suggests that a positivistic cognitive style is maintained. Many interns seem to believe in the notion of perfectibility of the poor through the correct application of tools, techniques and books. Intern teaching tasks involve seeking the right melange of procedures. Instruction begins with classifying children according to standardized categories. Interns talk about their functional activities in relationship to definitions of children as hyperactive, low-ability, learning disabled. Instruction concerns eliminating the deviations which produce children's failure: administer assessment tests to identify specific skills and produce remediation which enables children to acquire the predefined knowledge or behaviors to lift children out of the failure syndrome.

The rationalism of the intern training so interpenetrates their actions within the projects that problems and strategies for change are argued within the premises of the existing system of belief. In one school, major aspects of interns preparation was to learn the proper sequences by which the school knowledge was defined . Interns were to use sequences to "diagnose" children's written work and design future instruction around forms of remediation. In a different instances, when substantive conflict about the purpose and direction of a project occurred among program participants, the disagreement was translated into role-conflict. A management consultant firm was hired to define the formal roles of each participant. The conflict was reinterpreted to mean a lack of procedural clarity in the project.

The acceptance of a bureaucratic style of thinking has certain implications as it is internalized into the perspectives of student teachers. First, teachers may define their tasks in such a way as to produce massive alienation. Knowledge, teacher and child are treated as separate and

distinct objects, the work of teaching is to impose upon children a predetermined world, outside of personal intervention or imagination. Second, a student comes to believe that intellectual and moral authority lie in the hands of the experts and elites who control education. Third, the reification leads to a construction of ideal-types which have a self-fulfilling function. The idea of "intelligence" for example, suggest a certain image of children which teachers are to nuture. The images maintain a form of ethnocentricity by which actions in school are to be judged. "Compensatory" educaton or remediation, for example, are seen as plausible actions to reduce dissonance between the teacher's projected (and culture-bound) image and the actions of specific children.

A fourth consequence of positivism to the development of teaching perspectivies involves the imposition of a peculiar mode of reciprocity. A teacher and child are not engaged in common tasks. A teacher's problem is to control the child. A child's problem is to get educated. Social relationships exist to have something done to children. Berger (Kellner & Berger, 1973) suggest that positivistic styles of thinking produce a greater sense of impotence. Choices are narrowly defined for both teachers and children by what the rationality of the institution considers legitimate and those constraints spread to other fields of social action.

A challenge to positivistic thought in education comes from a position called "dialectical." Drawn from the epistemological roots of Hegel and Marx, people are viewed as existentially related to their social structures. As people participate in communities, they actively construct meanings and significance to their encounters. This tradition, however, assumes a peculiar meaning in educational thought. "Problem-solving" orientations replace the learning of concrete objects as a purpose of teaching. The hierarchy and

separation of subject-matter are no longer of major importance. The pedagogy of teaching concer s a child as both an active and passive agent. The knowledge he/she develops occurs from interacting with the social environments of school and from the interplay between the knowledge of a child and that of a teacher. The dialectic tradition in education is articulated in the writings of Dewey, the designs of progressive schools and the current open-education movement.

The intentional scheme of a dialectic assumes certain characteristics in a teaching perspective. The notion of community and a problem-solving orientation replaces attempts to make teaching predictable, and instruction, fragmentation and orderly. A collegiate rather than hierarchical arrangement is sought between professor and students. Each member is considered as capable of making valid and significant contributions to an uderstanding of the school world. Assessment of classroom work focuses upon the interrelation of classroom environment and children's activities. Categories such as classroom environments, decision-making, responsibility or initiative replace more precise and typically anonymous criteria of success such as reading scores. Teachers learn how to use space flexibility to respond to ongoing and shared responsibility of classroom life. Emphasis on change disposes teachers to consider unpredictable rather than the certain as justified. Emotion and attitudes towards class work also becomes valued as part of educational processes. The design of teacher education would probably reflect these different belief structures.

A possible consequence of the dialectic tradition in school is a more powerful people-shaping ideology in that private thoughts become open to public scrutiny and hence controllable. The reliance on the emotional and personal dimensions may have interns ignore the substantive political and ethical issues of teaching.

IV. SACRED AND PROFANE KNOWLEDGE

The job of teaching contains sacred and profane knowledge. The distinction is used by Durkheim (1965) to differentiate certain elements of religious thought from the everyday belief systems. Religious belief systems, Durkeim argues, contain a knowledge which is considered naturally superior in dignity. Totemic knowledge, for example, maintains a radically distinct knowledge from other forms found in society. The difference between Totemic and secular knowledge is not a difference between two sides of the same coin, such as good and bad, right or wrong. The historic use of sacred knowledge has been to maintain a social distribution of expertize and its control through professionals. In earlier times, this was done by priestly classes. With the secularization of world views, knowledge producing occupations and education provide the function of maintaining sacred knowledge in society. Students in teacher education learn to define their tasks-as-teacher in relationship to sacred knowledge.

Some of the knowledge encountered in teacher education is thought of as organized and controlled solely by professionals. Teacher education provides students with certain types of knowledge as having high value, such as history, science or reading. These subjects receive a peculiar characterization as they are incorporated into the life of teacher education. The ideas of history, for example, are redefined through lesson plans, teaching strategies, and outcome statements. A priestly language is made available to students to categorize procedures and rituals for access to the knowledge, such as needs assessment, learner outcomes or consequate techniques. The emergent educational notion of history is more related to a school definition of competence than to the activities of the historian.

A task of teacher education is to have students put aside their own notions about scholarship and childhood and to accept professional interpretations and definitions. School reasoning is differentiated from the commonsense reasoning pupils might bring to school. Students become acquainted with tasks of instruction which seek to have children replace what children know to be the case in their everyday knowledge with non-commonsense, esoteric language of the school. A teacher in Keddie's (in Young, 1971) study of classroom knowledge rejects a pupil's description of an extended family which was derived from a boy's personal experiences. In its place, the teacher seeks to have children accept his category system built around social science words. Mackay (1971) suggests that teachers assume children have no competence in reasoning. He examines the dialogue of a lesson where, a teacher asks, "What did it say in the story about Chicken Little ah where the nut fell on Chicken Little?" p. 187. The child's response to the question, "at the tree," was a reasonable answer to the question. Yet the teacher preempts the interaction, treats the child's answer as incorrect and assigns his own scheme of interpretation without any explanation. A purpose of instruction is to impose upon children a peculiar way of reasoning and notion of competence.

Two illustrations can be provided as to how students learn to define educational knowledge as sacred. The first case concerns a recent observation of students learning teaching strategies for social inquiry. Students worked in peer groups with one taking the role of teacher. The task of teacher was to pose a riddle to be solved (inquiry). The tasks of students was to ask questions to unravel the puzzle (inquiry teaching strategy). The questions had to be specifically framed to provide yes-no questions. The questions

also had to be sequentially linked to have students inductively identify facts. When one student made an intuitive leap to provide a solution, she was told the answer could not be accepted because enough prior facts were not stated. Many of the questions posed had to be rephrased because the teacher did not find the language acceptable.

While the peer teaching produced great amusement and excitement, what were students learning about teaching? First, the incident suggests to students there is a special type of knowledge in school. This knowledge is unrelated to students' own experiences. What college student does a term paper or thesis through a game of twenty questions? Second, the characteristics of inquiry were plausible only within a more general context of what the interns know about school. That is, knowledge is held by a wise person, the teacher. Further it is reasonable to gain that knowledge through social relationships which maintain the status and privilege of the teacher. Success is defined as students accepting the teacher's process of reasoning and definition of competence. What is valid knowledge and procedures for testing that validity is imposed by a teacher.

A second example relates to the recent changes in teaching certification which requires students to take specific courses in reading. A particular conception of knowing qua reading is introduced into the consciousness of students through their involvement in professional preparation. Students are asked to work with reading as an independent subject. Reading is given a distinct value in education, equal to other human endeavors such as history, science or literature. No longer is reading conceived as a skill existing within a context in which one does science, understands poetry or becomes sensitive to aesthetic dimensions of human life. The teaching of reading is technically treated, consisting of hierarchies of skills and diagnostic tests. It is not unoften for education students to talk about their sense of mission as "teaching children the skills of reading," or their vocational aspiration "to be

a reading teacher."

Socialization of teachers involves students confronting not only a sacred knowledge but legitimation about its distribution in schools. Accompanying existence of a sacred knowledge is a language of teaching which allows for the stratification of that knowledge. Different access routes to the knowledge of school are legitimated by such words as styles of learning, ability, I.Q., culturally disadvantaged or discipline problem. These labels help teachers (and student teachers) maintain norms about appropriate pupil behavior in relationship to mastering the knowledge of school. Where students use labels which refer to different access routes to knowledge, they may have internalized a legitimation of differential distribution of sacred knowledge.

V. THE WORK OF BECOMING A TEACHER

The work of becoming a teacher provides a third dimension for examining the process of socialization. Work is a fundamental human activity in which people act to modify their world. The activities of people build an arena for human conduct, human meaning and human existance. The factory assembly line or the communes of the 1960's maintain social relationships, sources of sentiment and value through their definitions of work. The nature of work also gives direction to how activities should be criticized and the degree of expertise contained in the occupation. (For discussions of work activities, see Bidwell, 1972, and Lortie, 1973).

The typical work activities of teacher education provide students with durable and concrete evidence of the conduct expected of teachers. A student teacher preparing a unit of teaching, having a supervisory conference or standing in front of a group of children directing their communications

provides concrete meaning to rules, status and values of a teacher's role. For example, learning how to assess children's placement in a basal series may reflect an expectation that there exist universal rules (standards exist which can be applied to all circumstances) and distribute justice (each is given according to his performance). These work activities may also establish what are appropriate social relationships in classrooms and among professionals.

We can talk about the work of students as existing in the social settings of the university and the school. Most of the work of the university methods course is related to preparing students for the work of classrooms. A student does an experiment to show how evaporation can be taught. A textbook is read about what one does in language arts instruction. A bulletin board is constructed. A teaching unit is prepared. We discussed earlier the peculiar meaning inquiry had in one teacher training program. Implicit in this work is a notion of scholarship about which students are directed to think about their occupation. We need to consider further where university work in teacher education is solely instrumental, the degree of criticism students entertain may remain at that level. The social, political and ethical contexts in which practices originates will be obscured.

The recent emphasis given to competency-based education provides a case in point. (Popkewitz and Wehlage, 1973.) The tasks of competency-based education are to provide greater precision and expertize to the work of teaching. The activities of teaching are subdivided into discrete and particular units of bheavior which can be taught separately. The sum of the parts is thought to equal the whole. A consequence of this approach is to provide a form of work which prevents an integration of meaning. Polyani (1966) suggests that the explanation of the different parts of a machine cannot explain how the total machine actually

works. Further when we focus upon the parts as separate from the whole, we distort our appreciation of the whole and loose sight of the form. Where students learn to work in teaching as a series of discrete actions, they may develop a conception of problem-solving as a standardized activity, consisting of categories and procedures already developed by technicians. Further, the human intent, value and emotions embedded in human action is hidden. This may produce forms of alienation, with students believing control resides outside their personal responsibility.

The work settings of school typically provide different work activities and types of satisfaction for students. Many professors of education and teaching organizations have considered the only "true" knowledge of teaching as on-the-job training. The potency of the concrete experiences of school upon the development of occupational identities is recognized in the sociology of work. Becker (1964), for example, argues that individuals tend to take on the characteristics required by the situation in which they participate. As one moves into the specific situations of teaching, the novice learns the statuses involved and the appropriate behavior with respect to those statuses.

The observations of Smith and Geoffery (1968) provide some indication of the function of classroom work in teacher education as a way of inventing and enforcing classroom beliefs and norms. Geoffery began his teaching job by meeting with the district superintendent and building principal. The notion of good teaching imparted from these encounters was that of good control over children. The beginning days of school for Geoffery were, in part, concerned with establishing an image of success to his fellow professionals. His planned classroom lessons and verbal cues sought to clearly identify routines and work patterns for children that would maintain order. Jobs, such as

chalk and eraser monitor were created and teacher comments provided to establish the behavioral requisites of the job ("Best attendance and best handwriting usually get the assigned job"). Further, Geoffery continually inundated the communications of the classroom with teacher orders to ensure children had learning assignments and were working to complete their tasks. The establishing of consistent routines and work activities provided norms and beliefs Geoffery thought appropriate for the conduct of the classroom. The work assigned to the teacher and children responded to a definition in the school district of good teaching. To the extent Geoffery was able to enforce "discipline" and order, he was given professional recognition.

Some research concerning student teachers suggest a socialization effect in schools that is counter to the intent of preparation programs. Hoy (1967), for example, sought to measure the pupil control ideology before and after a student teaching experience. Control ideology was divided into two types. One was a custodial ideology. This refers to a student's acceptance of a school as an autocratic organization with rigid pupil teacher status systems, a stress on maintenance of order, a distrust of students, and a punitive, moralistic orientation towards pupil control. A second ideology, humanism, was defined as an accepting and trustful view of pupils, confidence in children's ability to be self-disciplinary and responsible. Hoy found that students become more custodial after their student teaching experiences. This occurs, he believes, because the predominant orientation students face in the organization of school life is custodial.

While one could not argue that students should not be in schools, our own socialization study of Teacher Corps interns does suggest that the structural design of field experiences does have unintended consequences.

Generally, we found that preparation programs define students field work as job training. It is assumed that the work of teaching is a known quality and an apprenticeship is needed to learn the customs, traditions and behavioral regularities of those in the occupation. The institutional arrangements of teacher education programs have students do work related to acquiring the techniques and practices professionals make available in a school. This work may include standing in front of a small group, teaching an addition lesson, or monitoring the lunchroom.

The irony of the student teaching we observed was that the apprenticeship situations were in schools that were officially defined as failing the children of the poor. Further, as interns entered these schools, our research indicates interns sharply separate what they considered their tasks of teaching from what teachers do. Yet the work activities required interns to do the same lessons, use the same teacher's guides and follow the same administrative routines as the teachers whose perspectives they initially rejected. The very organization of work left the student no time to critically reflect about their work and the social arrangements of the school. The routines and regularities of school life inundated the interns so they were physically exhausted at the end of the day and too tired to critically think about the situations they found themselves. At no point were interns asked to consider the assumptions of the school as problematic or search for alternative ways for children to grow into society. To the extent these situations continue and the gap between teacher's and intern's perspective narrows, we can assume that the field experience has served to socialize interns to the belief system existing in the failing schools.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The discussion of the paper has concerned socializations as the

social distribution of professional knowledge. Three dimensions were identified as foci of empirical examination. These were: (1) the inferential structures students develop as they participate in teacher education; (2) the ways in which sacred knowledge is maintained, legitimated or rejected; and (3) the sentiments embedded in the work activities student teachers are called upon to do. These three dimensions were further considered in relationship to the possible ethical consequences of certain actions educators take in teacher education.

The empirical investigation of the distribution of educational knowledge involves three further methodological considerations.

First, the functional vocabulary and specific actions of students must be studied. Language assumes its meanings in the specific contexts in which it is used. Researchers must distinguish between the public vocabulary given to describe occupational intentions and the specific words designed to justify teacher's concrete actions (see, for example, Keddie, in Young, 1971). The teacher socialization research we have been doing in Teacher Corps suggest interns have a general language about teaching and a different vocabulary for talking about their specific actions in teaching. Generally interns construct a facade during interviews which expresses what interns want (hope) to do or think they are doing. This language is idealized and tend to provide an avoidance mechanism by creating abstractions that avoid examinations of the concrete situations interns face. Intern language to describe intent in actual classrooms is different. (The attempt to elucidate situationally-bound language is a purpose of Cicourel's (1974) study of the classrooms).

Second, a study of the functioning vocabulary of students needs to occur as students proceed through their teacher preparation program. As a student's

career position is modified either spacially (for example spending more time in schools) or temporally (such as being closer to certification) we can expect modifications in the vocabularies and perspectives (See Becker, 1964).

Third, we cannot assume a vocabulary of motive will have variations from the ideal types discussed previously. Students perspective of teaching will reflect a combining of theoretical knowledge about teaching, practical knowledge and active knowledge gain from interactions with other teachers and children in school. As such we can expect variations of perspectives. Gouldner, (1954) for example, found different meanings of bureaucracy as people developed responses to different structural conditions in a gypsum plant. It is the variations of perspectives that develop and its linkages to organizational contexts which need to be identified and illuminated.

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